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other civilized countries, which will stir the powers of the world to do their duty in this emergency.

Thanks to a public-spirited American, the great International Temple of Peace stands today open and ready at The Hague for a meeting of the Third Conference. The international committee to take charge of all preliminary arrangements is, as you have seen, already provided. Let it be our duty, by all means in our power, to influence public opinion in our own country, and if possible in other countries, to follow the precedent already established by calling a third meeting of The Hague Conference and by promoting worthy and efficient preparation for it.

## Commerce Among Nations the Promoter of Peace.\*

By Hon. Paul Ritter, Minister from Switzerland to U. S. A., at Washington, D. C.

Two years ago Dr. Albert Gobat, the director of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, addressed you in this same room in an enthusiastic manner about that institution which, under his able management, has developed from a small beginning to its present great importance. Today this man is no more. On the 16th of March, 1914, while presiding at a conference of the International Peace Bureau, then assembled at Berne, he unexpectedly passed away at the age of 71 years. How highly Mr. Gobat appreciated his sojourn at Lake Mohonk is proven by his ardent letter, written to Berne from this hotel, which was published in the official organ of the Peace Bureau, *The Peace Movement*, of June 15, 1912.

Dr. Gobat was a prominent Swiss politician who, during thirty years, served as a member of our Parliament. His incessant work in the furtherance of the great idea of permanent international peace has made him known far beyond the borders of his fatherland. As the outward recognition of these efforts the Nobel prize was given him, followed later by his appointment as director of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, when this institution was considerably expanded, thanks to the generous financial aid from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

With regard to your present program, I wish to say that the questions contained therein are of interest to me as a man and as a diplomat, but quite especially as a Swiss citizen. For many years the international policy of Switzerland has been eminently commercial. The development of my country offers an excellent illustration for the influence which peaceful conditions exert upon industry and international commerce.

The cross in the coat of arms of the Swiss Republic, which has been in existence these 623 years, and whose early history tells of sanguinary fights against land-grabbing neighbors, today has become the emblem of peace.

And if I, representing the ancient though small Helvetic Commonwealth, feel particularly comfortable and happy within your young, flourishing, and ever-growing Republic, it is because I continually discover new evi-

dence that our two countries are united not alone by friendship, but through many cordial relations and close resemblances.

Both are democracies and federated republics. The Swiss constitution of 1848 was a conscious imitation of the American constitution of 1789, with the difference, however, that in Switzerland a deviation was made in the mode of selecting the President. The highest executive authority in Switzerland is the Bundesrat, the federal council, composed of seven members, one of whom is chosen as President of the Confederation for the term of one year by the Parliament. After that term another of the seven federal councilors will be elected President, while his predecessor resumes his former place as member of the federal council. Seven years thereafter his turn will come again to take over the presidential office. While the Parliament elects every new President formally each year, this mode of succession is practically automatic.

But if Switzerland paid the United States the sincere compliment of following in her constitution the wise plans of organization laid down by the fathers of this great Republic, the United States returned the compliment when, in 1898, the first American State adopted the initiative and referendum originated in Switzerland.

Economically also there are resemblances to be found between our two republics. In both countries commerce and industry are flourishing. It may interest you to learn that Switzerland, with a population less numerous than that of the city of New York, has a general trade exceeding, for instance, the commerce of Spain or of the Japanese Empire. To mention but one industry: Switzerland, undisturbed by external influences, was able to export in 1912 more than 15 million watches, which means that of all watches entering into the world's trade nearly 90 per cent are of Swiss manufacture.

Three national languages are spoken within the boundaries of our republic: German, French, and Italian. The constantly increasing influx of foreigners from neighboring countries presents an immigration problem as perplexing as that which you face here today. Neither in Switzerland nor in the United States any single nation may claim to be the ethnological basis of the population. Socially the parallel is striking. The middle-class element is predominant. In both countries Protestantism is the prevailing creed, but at the same time important Catholic minorities exist.

Concerning the general education and public enlightenment, Switzerland occupies a place in continental Europe similar to that of the United States in the western hemisphere. Switzerland was the first country to open the doors of her universities to women, so that now more than 25 per cent of all the students at our seven universities are women, and nine-tenths of these foreigners, mostly Russians.

For a long time my country has pursued pedagogical reform as her peculiar mission. Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Father Girard, and Fellenberg were Swiss. Thus it has grown to be a custom, quite flattering to us, that our neighbors in Europe, and even in countries over the seas, send their children to Switzerland for the purpose of studying languages, music, and the arts.

Switzerland possesses no coasts, no ports, no fleet, no

\* Address delivered at the Lake Mohonk Conference, May 29, 1914.

colonies, nor a standing army. We merely maintain a militia for the sole purpose of defending our neutrality if necessary. The funds appropriated for educational pursuits are twice as large as those for military purposes, yet the Swiss militia were lauded by the German Emperor, who attended our maneuvers in 1912. A few years ago our system was even adopted by Lord Richard B. Haldane, then English Secretary of War, as a model for the reorganization of that part of the army known as the British territorial forces.

A glance at the statistics of the world's commerce teaches us that nations of an insignificant military power, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, New Zealand, or Switzerland, are compensated for this lack by an unproportionately large share of the world's trade.

All of this argues for peace! But in spite of all efforts made on behalf of this great ideal of humanity, visible results are still very few, as you all are aware. Even a nation like China, which has been living for centuries in profound and apparently undisturbable peace, was contaminated by militarism as soon as she came in closer contact with western nations.

Would it not seem necessary to secure a harvest to plant the seeds of peace a little deeper? Would it not be desirable to instill the high idea of peace into the juvenile mind, beginning with the nursery and the school-room, in order to make this great principle powerful among the masses?

Furthermore, we should try to make the fine arts our allies—poetry, music, painting, and sculpture—for modern art in all its many forms rather incites to war, though often in unconscious manner. This is not new. The Greek and Roman sculptors in their early times were wont to glorify the profession of war, and even today we look with admiration upon these works of ancient art.

But are we following in their footsteps today when on our public squares we erect monuments to victorious army leaders surrounded by real guns and piles of rusty cannon balls? Could the gratitude of the fatherland toward its heroes of the present times not be expressed in some other more peaceful manner?

Many of you, ladies and gentlemen, have visited Switzerland. You have stood with admiration and emotion before the dying lion at Lucerne, hewn out of the living rock by Thorwaldsen, in commemoration of the faithful Swiss guard which in 1792 was annihilated during their defense of the Tuileries, at Paris.

To whom would come the idea of bloodshed when, at Altdorf, he sees the monument of William Tell, the deliverer of Switzerland, coming down a mountain slope, happiness in his eyes, his son by his side, and the crossbow peacefully thrown over his shoulder?

What visitor to Switzerland has not seen the Rütti, the historic little meadow in the woods above the blue waters of the Lake of Lucerne, where in the year 1307 the representatives of the Swiss Forest Cantons took the solemn oath to purge their country from the Hapsburg scourge and to make fettered Switzerland a free country? That little meadow, the Rütti, bought fifty years ago by voluntary contributions of all our school children, was presented to the State as an eternal monument of glory.

In every Swiss class-room there may be found a re-

production of a well-known patriotic Swiss monument. It does not glorify one of our numerous victorious battles. It represents a single individual—not a hero clad in armor, but the modest educator and philanthropist Pestalozzi, gathering about him and protecting in time of war the little orphans. With Pestalozzi's picture, Pestalozzi's spirit enters into the school-room, too. Could not a similar result be achieved with the idea of peace?

Ladies and gentlemen, in concluding, let me express the hope that the magnificent motto of the Swiss Confederation, "One for all, all for one," may perhaps some day become the general principle of all nations of the world.

### The Mediation Conference at Niagara Falls.

By William H. Short.

A greystone hotel at Niagara Falls, Ontario, has, for several weeks past, been housing a mediation conference concerning which a keen observer has said: "I regard it as one of the most auspicious signs of modern progress." At the head of the conference table are seated the representatives of the three so-called A. B. C. nations of South America; on the left hand appear the three delegates from Mexico, with their secretary; opposite them, on the right of the table, sit the American delegates. While these men are quietly deliberating for the settlement of grave issues, the talk of war has all but ended, and the people of our country are going quietly about their business, with calm assurance that reason will be able to settle more satisfactorily than arms could do the important questions which are under discussion from day to day in the conference.

One other mediation conference held on American soil in recent years tends to justify the large confidence of success with which the present conference has been greeted. I refer, of course, to the meeting at Kittery Navy Yard, Portsmouth, N. H., which took place in 1905, through the mediation of President Roosevelt, between Japan and Russia, which led to the treaty of peace which settled the bloodiest war of modern times.

Before proceeding to the discussion of questions before the mediation conference, let us think for a moment of the chain of events which have resulted in the holding of its sessions. The remote causes are to be found in the international peace conferences held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. Among the many important and enlightened results of the deliberations of the First Conference is one concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes. In the convention on this subject appears a section on mediation. This provides that either before hostilities have begun, or at any time while they are in progress, a neutral nation may offer its good offices for the settlement of questions at issue between the nations in conflict, and that the intervention shall not be considered as an unfriendly act. At the Second Conference in 1907, when the further explication of this rule was being considered, our own Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the first delegate of the American delegation to the conference, moved that its language